



**Labor's
Champion**

FREE TOM MOONEY!

**AN EXHIBITION of the Yale
Law Library's Tom Mooney
Collection, on the centennial
of Mooney's frame-up**

FEBRUARY 1 – MAY 27, 2016

Curated by

LORNE BAIR, Lorne Bair Rare Books

HÉLÈNE GOLAY, Lorne Bair Rare Books

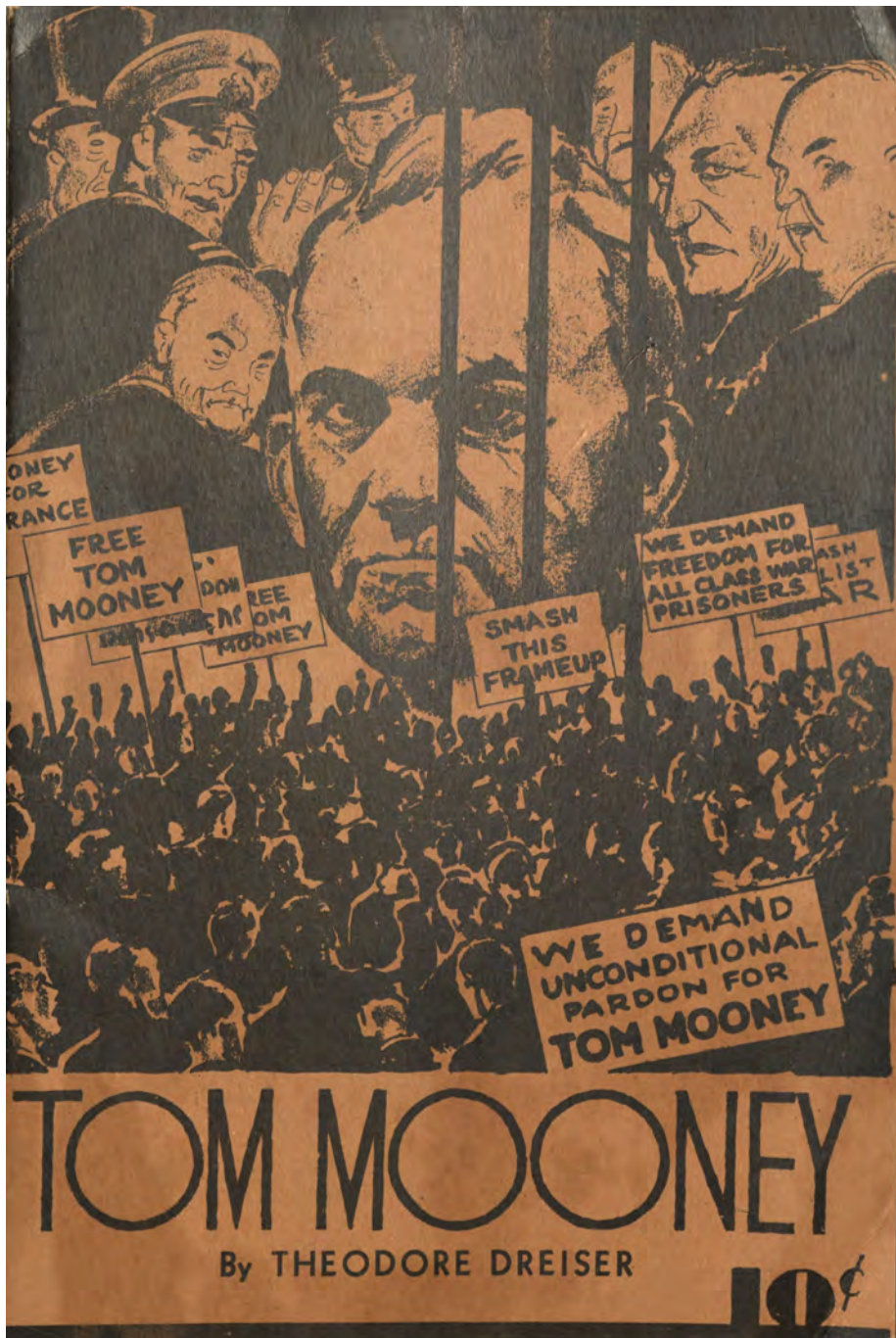
MIKE WIDENER, Yale Law Library

INTRODUCTION

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, a bomb explosion was the pretext that San Francisco authorities needed to prosecute the militant left-wing labor organizer Tom Mooney on trumped-up murder charges. Mooney's false conviction and death sentence set off a 22-year campaign that proved Mooney had been framed, made him one of the world's most famous Americans, and eventually resulted in his exoneration.

The campaign also created an enormous number of print and visual materials, including legal briefs, books, pamphlets, movies, flyers, stamps, poetry, and music. The examples in this exhibition are only a few of the over 150 items in Yale Law Library's collection on the Mooney case, housed in the Rare Book Collection. They form a rich resource for studying the Mooney case, the American Left in the interwar years, and the emergence of modern media campaigns.

Unless otherwise noted, all items are from the Rare Book Collection, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School.



Theodore Dreiser, *Tom Mooney* (San Francisco: Local no. 17, Amalgamated Lithographers of America, undated).

INTERNATIONAL WORKMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

North American Section.

Pacific Coast Division.

Organizer's



Circular.

Statutes

Of the Division Executive.

I. This Association shall be known as the Pacific Coast Division, North American Section of the International Workmen's Association, founded August 5, 1882, at the Tavern Des Franc-Maçons, London, England, and is subordinate to and recognizes the authority of the Central Executive Council of said Association.

II. The jurisdiction of this Division shall extend over the States of California, Nevada, Oregon and the Territories of Arizona, Alaska and Washington; in the United States of America; the States of Lower California, Sonora and Sinaloa, in the Republic of Mexico, and the Province of British Columbia in British America.

III. The government of this Division shall be vested in a Division Executive of nine members, from the body of which shall be chosen a President, Secretary and Treasurer. Organization shall be pursued from such Executive upon the "Group System," each member thereof acting as an organizer of a group of nine, of which he shall be chief. Each member of such subordinate group so organized shall also act as an organizer of a new series.

IV. The declared object of this Association is the organization, fraternization and education of the producing classes of all nations. It is the duty of every member hereof to assist and aid the organization of the Knights of Labor, the various trade unions, farmers' alliances and all other forms of organization in which the producers have organized or may organize themselves.

V. The especial declared objects of this division are as follows: 1, to print and publish proper literature; 2, to hold mass-meetings; 3, to systematize agitation; 4, to establish a labor library; 5, to establish a labor hall; 6, to establish a lyceum for discussion of labor topics; 7, to maintain the labor press; 8, to protect members from wrongs; 9, to protect all other producers from wrongs; 10, to aid and assist all labor organizations; 11, to aid the establishment of unity and the maintenance of fraternity between all labor organizations; 12, to aid and assist an alliance between the industrial and the agricultural producers; 13, to encourage the spirit of brotherhood and interdependence among all producers among every state and land; 14, to circulate proper literature; 15, to educate each other by group meeting and discussion; 16, to ascertain, segregate, classify and study our enemies, their habits and acts; 17, to secure information of the wrongs perpetrated against us and to re-

THE GROUP SYSTEM

THE ONLY REALLY HONEST METHOD
OF ORGANIZATION EVER
DEvised!

Let us suppose that you, my reader, have been giving a little attention to the sayings and doings of the labor men; that you have read and thought sufficiently on the subject to have a pretty good general idea of their principles and aims, and that you find yourself more or less in accord with them; that still you entertain some objections and difficulties and your mind is in a condition of doubt and uncertainty. Now, let us suppose you to have among your acquaintances two or three persons similarly disposed, and that you invite them to meet you expressly to talk over the subject. Suppose that, as the result of your first meeting, you are all sufficiently interested to wish to meet for the same purpose again and again, sometimes in the apartments of one and sometimes in those of the others. Finally you meet regularly—say once a week—and from two or three your numbers have increased to half a dozen or more. In the meantime you have obtained for yourselves and have read and discussed together, or passed from one to another, some labor literature. Perhaps, also, you have thrown yourselves into intercourse with some well-informed labor advocate.

Now, my reader, I will venture to say that the desire which you first had to study the subject for your own sake, will have expanded by this time into a desire to spread your views everywhere within the circle of your influence, and the same desire will animate your companions. Suppose, then, that each of you, while retaining your organization as a little club—a "group"—should make himself the starting-point or nucleus of just such another club or "group," composed of persons perhaps living in his immediate neighborhood, or associated in business, or in some other way. The formation of these secondary clubs or groups, and their development, will be easier than that of the first, as each will have the advantage of an intelligent teacher. You see that in a very short time instead of one you will have eight little clubs or groups, each having a thread of communication with the first one, which will continue to hold its regular meetings. Within another short period these eight clubs—meeting, perhaps, in different wards or suburbs of a city, or in little centers of rural population—will each in like manner make of its members the nuclei of other groups or clubs, and each

Each man is a member of one group which is under the chairmanship of its organizer. He is a simple member here but if he desires himself to become an organizer he can do so by going out and organizing a group of his own.

Among the chief objects of the International is the ascertaining of the individual opinions of each of the members upon all questions of interest. Each member is expected to forward his views and thoughts and all information he obtains to headquarters.

The International has here already an extended organization, and has laid the foundation in many neighborhoods and over a continually widening district, of a really formidable association.

In this way, if every sympathizing reader of this article will set to work, it will be readily seen how quickly and successfully—supposing the ideas to be correct and the times ripe for them—the party may spread, like the ganglions of the nervous system, throughout the whole of this broad land, preparing public opinion, in advance of the crisis, for the new social order, and thus serving not only to mitigate the violence of the transition but also to make the outcome of the new system of society more sure and satisfactory.

And, be it observed, that with this system there will be no necessity for any centralized authority or arbitrary regulation. Every little group will be independent and self-regulating, and will have the benefit of connection through its first member or founder with a group older than itself, and will thus be kept informed of the general movement of thought and the progress of the party elsewhere.

But the chief beauty of the plan is that a course of education has been mapped out and excellent text books provided, and that these are placed in the hands of the various groups, who forming themselves thus into classes are enabled, in an extremely short time, to perfectly familiarize themselves with the fundamental principles of true social science.

Following this course comes a scientific and comprehensive course of chemistry. In brief, the producers are scientifically elevated from the condition of ignorant slaves to the position of intelligent freemen, prepared to act as leaders in the great social revolution, whose birth throes are already agitating the world.

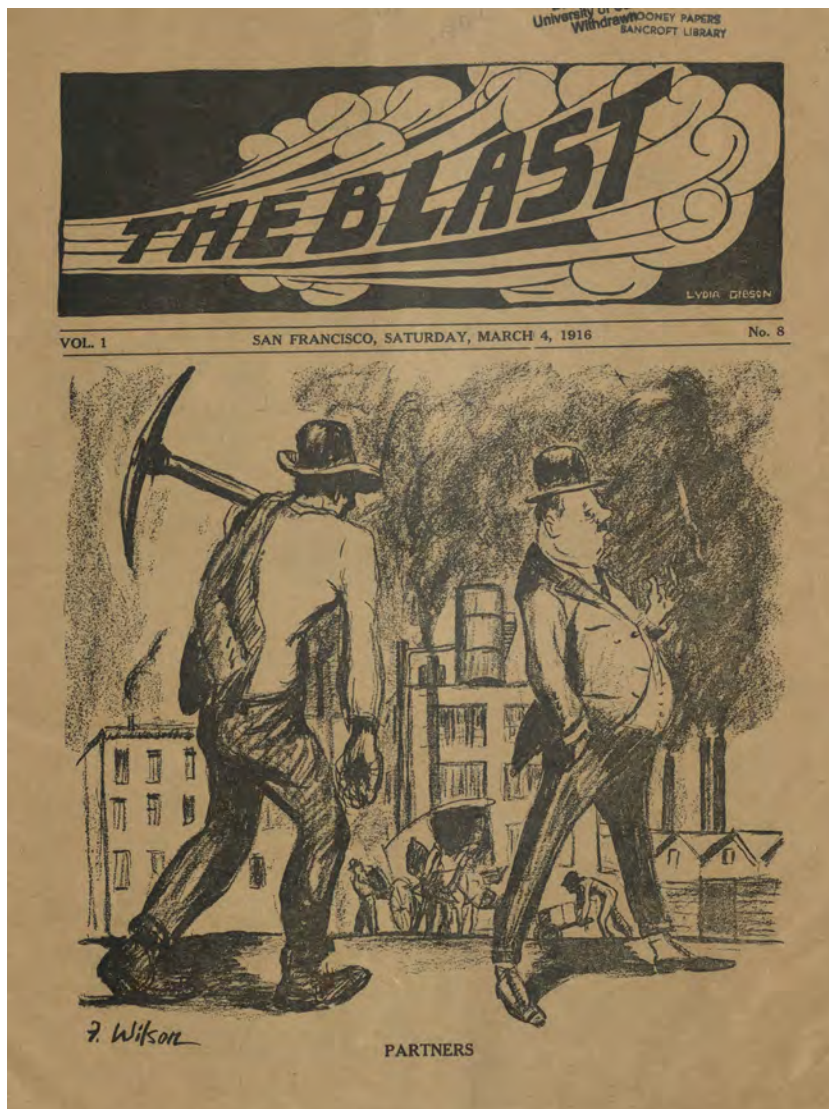
Secret, mysterious, world-wide, quietly honey-combing society, the I. W. A. offers to the daring and devoted men and women of earth, the sole practical means of releasing the wealth-producers from the shackles of tyranny. It does not fear betrayal since its system of organization prevents the possibility of treason. It does not fear suppression, because it has millions of members, as well quali-

Burnett G. Haskell. Broadside circular issued by the International Workmen's Association. San Francisco, 1881.

Reproduction of original, courtesy of Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

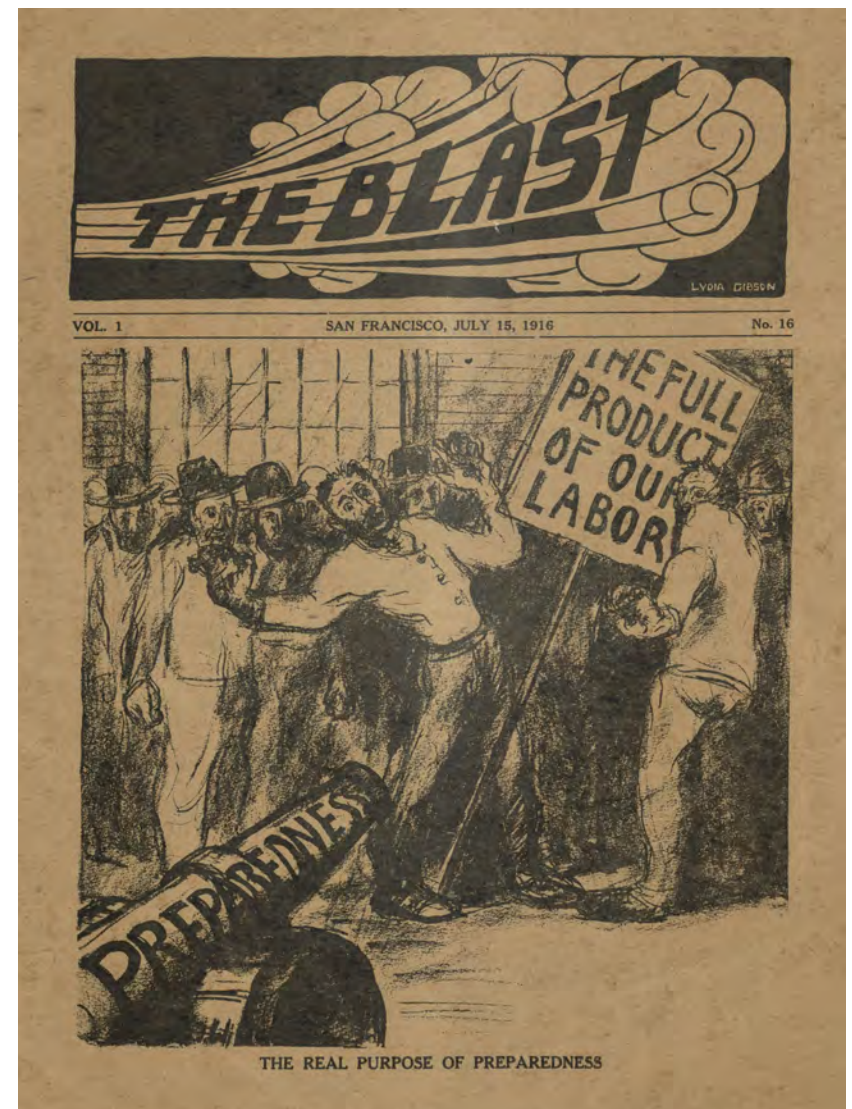
As early as the 1880s, San Francisco had become a hotbed of radical labor unrest, as exemplified in this recruiting broadside for the International Workmen's Association, a Marxist-Anarchist labor union founded by utopian socialist and professional agitator Burnett G. Haskell. Issued thirty-five years prior to the Preparedness Day Bombing, the broadside offers a veiled endorsement of terror as an organizational technique, promising members "a scientific and comprehensive course on chemistry"* — terminology which, in agitational circles, would have translated to training in the use of high explosives.

*



Alexander Berkman (ed). *The Blast: Revolutionary Labor Paper*. Nos. 8 & 16 (1916).

The San Francisco Preparedness Day Bombing took place on the afternoon of July 22, 1916, killing ten spectators and wounding another forty. Tom Mooney, a militant labor organizer and official of the local Iron Molder's Union, was (along with his assistant, Warren




K. Billings) charged with the bombing a few days later. Among Mooney's earliest and most ardent supporters was the militant anarchist and partner of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman (who had himself spent 14 years in prison for the attempted murder of industrialist Henry Clay Frick). Berkman's anarchist biweekly *The Blast* contains some of the first contemporary accounts of the bombing and its aftermath.

BEFORE THE
GOVERNOR OF THE
STATE OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE MATTER OF
THE APPLICATION OF
THOMAS J. MOONEY FOR A PARDON

C. M. FICKERT,
DISTRICT ATTORNEY IN AND
FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF
SAN FRANCISCO.

 TOWN TALK PRESS

Charles Marron Fickert. *Before the Governor of the State of California: In the Matter of the Application of Thomas J. Mooney for a Pardon.* San Francisco, [1918].

C.M. Fickert, the state's prosecutor in the Mooney case, was a hard-drinking former football star who was reputedly not shy about resorting to "extra-legal" methods to secure prosecutions. Though Fickert was investigated for witness tampering on a number of occasions, allegations were never proved— but his questionable judicial techniques in the Mooney trial would prove a key factor in Mooney's pardon 22 years later.

In the
Supreme Court
of the
State of California

IN THE MATTER OF THE APPLICATION
OF
WARREN K. BILLINGS,
FOR A PARDON.

ARGUMENT
On Behalf of Petitioner

EDWIN V. MCKENZIE,
783 Mills Bldg., San Francisco,
Attorney for Petitioner.

Edwin V. McKenzie. *In the Supreme Court of the State of California: In the Matter of an Application of Warren K. Billings, for a Pardon.* [San Francisco, 1930].

The “forgotten defendant,” Warren K. Billings, was convicted along with Mooney but received only a fraction of the publicity and funds that were poured into Mooney’s defense. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, Billings’s defense team did not file its first application for pardon until almost 15 years after his conviction. Billings was released in 1939, a year after Mooney, finally receiving a pardon in 1961.

"IF THE THING WERE DONE THAT OUGHT BE DONE, THE WHOLE DIRTY LOW-DOWN BUNCH WOULD BE TAKEN OUT AND STRUNG UP WITHOUT CEREMONY."

"IF I KNEW THAT EVERY SINGLE WITNESS THAT TESTIFIED AGAINST MOONEY HAD PERJURED HIMSELF IN HIS TESTIMONY I WOULDNT LIFT A FINGER TO GET HIM A NEW TRIAL."—Edw. A. Cunha, Assistant District Attorney, who was caught in the perjury plot to hang Tom Mooney.—"The Survey."

Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee

Formed by members of Molders Union
This Committee's funds are used in defense of five prisoners

JOHN B. MOONEY, Treasurer

P. O. Box 894



San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 12, 1917.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing to you a sample copy of the fifth edition of 100,000 copies, of "JUSTICE RAPED IN CALIFORNIA," the story of the bomb explosion during the preparedness parade July 22, 1916, in San Francisco. The arrest of five persons active in the labor movement, four men and one woman to be exact. The exposure of the greatest criminal conspiracy to railroad to the gallows innocent people, by wholesale perjury, secured by anti-Union Labor employers' organizations and used knowingly and fostered by public officials. This booklet also tells that which preceded, and led up to the bomb explosion and the arrest of these defendants.

Warren K. Billings, first to be tried, was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. I, the second to be tried, was convicted and sentenced to be hanged May 17, 1917. An appeal from that judgment, now resting in the California Supreme Court, has automatically stayed the execution.

Mrs. Rena Hermann Mooney, my wife, the third defendant tried, was acquitted.

When we were first arrested, the newspapers of the country fed the reading public with scare headlines that prejudiced a great many thinking people against us, but when the greatest criminal conspiracy in American history came to light by the exposure of the Oxman-Fickert perjury plot to hang me, involving inextricably a number of public officials, the newspapers of the nation did not even give the minor details about this most dastardly of all outrages. In fact they have attempted to kill it with silence.

Through the Labor and Socialist papers—"The Irish World," "The Public," "The Survey," "Literary Digest," "Pearson's Magazine," "The Boston Journal," and "New York Globe," and especially the "San Francisco Bulletin," and 400,000 copies of the "Frame-Up System" pamphlet—we have been able to enlighten a great part of the public as to the real facts in the case.

The defense has appealed to many known official powers for redress, and almost in vain. But few of these have given us satisfaction.

President Wilson, the House, and the United States Senate, the Departments of State, Justice, Labor, and the Postmaster General, United States Senators Johnson and Phelan of California, have all been appealed to, for a Federal investigation. They have been told how the United States Mails have been used to suborn perjury. And their answer is: nothing done.

Governor Stephens of California, Attorney General Webb, the Supreme, Appellate, and Superior Courts of California, Mayor Rolph, District Attorney Fickert, and the Police Department of San Francisco have been appealed to, and we are still in jail, and have been there for over one year. Mrs. Mooney is denied bail, after being acquitted on what many legal minds say was the strongest case of the three presented by the State.

Frank C. Oxman, "The King of Perjurers," who swore my life away, is at large on \$1,000 bail. The other perjurers have not even been arrested.

We have not only proven our innocence, but have proved beyond all reasonable doubt that the prosecution in these cases is nothing more or less than a criminal persecution of five innocent people, because they are active members of the American Federation of Labor.

After you have carefully examined this story, and if you feel that a wrong has been done, your support in the direction of correcting this terrible miscarriage of justice will be deeply appreciated, not only by myself and four co-defendants, but all justice-loving people.

Sincerely,

Tom Mooney

Fundraising appeal, signed in facsimile by Mooney, dated September 12, 1917.

Mooney, seeking funds for his defense but also scoring points for his cause, here criticizes the establishment press for ignoring allegations of perjury against prosecutor Fickert. Meanwhile, he lauds the labor press for its enlightened coverage, drawing special attention to Robert Minor's pamphlet *Justice Raped in California*.

Help Wanted

ONE MILLION READERS NEEDED FOR

"JUSTICE RAPED IN CALIFORNIA"

Story of the San Francisco so-called Bomb Trials

By Robt. Minor 64 Illustrations 48 Pages 10 Cents a Copy

Wonderfully illustrated, showing how five of labor's best and purest are being "Framed Up" for the gallows by enemies of organized labor

The following letters and telegrams ordering "Justice Raped in California" is the very best evidence of its value, and it is certainly destined to reach the largest circulation of any piece of labor literature ever published.

Tom Mooney, care County Jail No. 1,

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 24, 1917.

San Francisco, Cal.
My Dear Friend Mooney:

Received your letter of Aug. 12th with pamphlet, circular letter, also your letter of Aug. 14th, and the contents carefully noted, etc., and in reading over the pamphlet entitled "Justice Raped in California," I find a most complete survey with illustrations and the most astounding "frame-up" and perjury evidence, backed up by documentary proof, by the constituted authorities of San Francisco, that was ever perpetrated upon innocent people in this country, or in any other for that matter. EVERY UNION MAN IN THIS COUNTRY SHOULD BUY AND READ YOUR PAMPHLET ENTITLED "JUSTICE RAPED IN CALIFORNIA," in order that they may know and understand the "Law and Order" as expounded by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and their willing tool, District Attorney Fickert. I beg to remain,

ED. N. NOCKELS,
Secy. Chicago Federation of Labor,
with a membership of 350,000.

Tom Mooney, care County Jail,
San Francisco, Cal.

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 23, 1917.

Send one thousand pamphlets to "Mother" Jones, care of Jas. Gilmore, District President United Mine Workers, Berkeley, West Virginia; also send TEN THOUSAND TO HEADQUARTERS CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR. LETTER FOLLOWS.

Tom Mooney, County Jail No. 1,
San Francisco, Cal.

New York City, Aug. 22, 1917

Express me three thousand new pamphlets at once.

M. E. FITZGERALD.

John B. Mooney, 355 Grove Street,
San Francisco, Cal.

Cumberland, Md., Aug. 28, 1917.

Send one thousand copies "Justice Raped in California." Labor Day if possible.
A. B. FOGLE, Secy. Trades Council.

John B. Mooney, P. O. Box 894,
San Francisco, Cal.

Chicago, Ill., Aug. , 1917.

As soon as new pamphlet comes off press, send me one thousand copies immediately, along with bill for same. Yours for Industrial Freedom,

W. D. HAYWOOD, National Secy.

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL No. 1285

John B. Mooney, P. O. Box 894,
San Francisco, Cal.

Mascoutah, Ill., Aug. 22, 1917.

Secretary-Treasurer, Dear Sir and Brother:

Please forward 500 copies of "Justice Raped in California." At our meeting held Aug. 21, a committee of three was selected to sell these copies and the money forwarded to the defense fund.

Respectfully yours,
WALTER OSTER, Secretary.

Hundreds of smaller orders are coming in daily from all parts of the United States. Our only hope is to give the frame-up facts the widest publicity possible. We propose to reach at least one million union men and women with these pamphlets, and we want you to help us in this big drive. We have reached half of the mark already, and with your co-operation we can accomplish it, even though the Chamber of Commerce, through its influence all over the United States, is attempting to kill, by silence, all of the matter contained in this pamphlet.

EVERY ORGANIZATION SHOULD BUY A COPY OF THIS BOOKLET FOR EACH OF ITS MEMBERS. IT IS YOUR DUTY TO BRING THIS MATTER BEFORE YOUR OWN LOCAL AND URGE FAVORABLE ACTION IMMEDIATELY. Orders for "Justice Raped in California" can only be filled by the

TOM MOONEY MOLDERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Formed by members of the Molders Union

P. O. BOX 894

JOHN B. MOONEY, Treasurer
355 Grove Street, San Francisco, California

(HANG THIS POSTER UP IN A CONSPICUOUS PLACE)

Robert Minor. *Justice Raped in California: Story of the San Francisco So-called Bomb Trials* [publisher's prospectus]. New York, 1917.

Communist Party leader Robert Minor's *Justice Raped in California* was one of the most-reprinted left-wing accounts of the Mooney trial, distributed — as this early prospectus shows — in enormous quantities by various left-wing groups.

JUSTICE =RAPED= IN CALIFORNIA



TOM MOONEY,
Sentenced to be hanged at San Quentin Prison, Cal., although proven to be the innocent victim of the Oxman perjury plot.

WARREN K. BILLINGS,
Sentenced to Folsom Penitentiary for life on the perjuries of the Edeau women, Estelle Smith the prostitute, and John McDonald a drug fiend.

Story of So-Called Bomb Trials in San Francisco

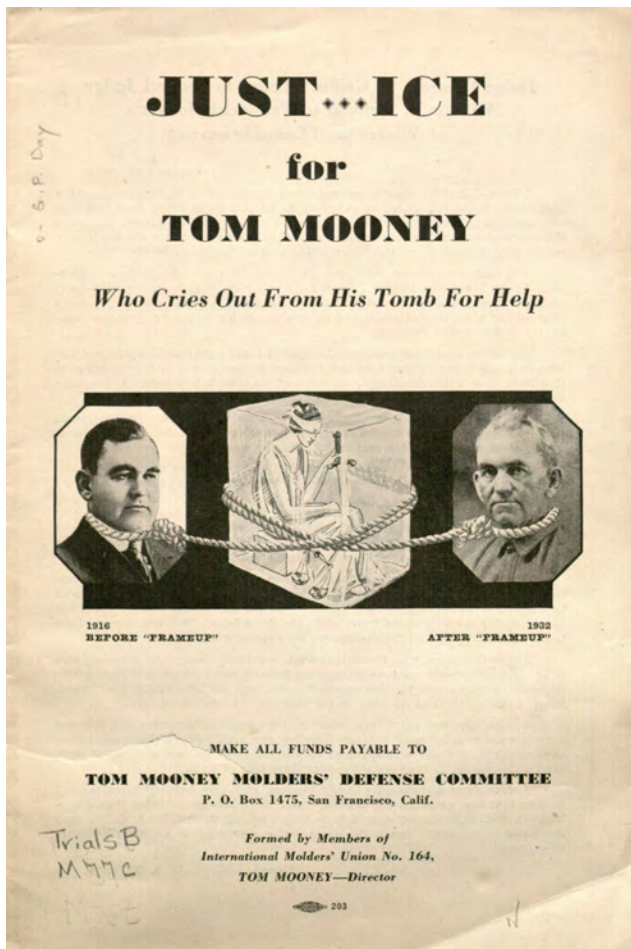
FIFTH EDITION

of "The Frame-Up System" series by Robert Minor, revised and enlarged to 48 pages, with 64 illustrations. The former title fails to convey all the facts contained in this pamphlet, therefore the change of title.

PRICE 10 CENTS—Special Rates to Dealers

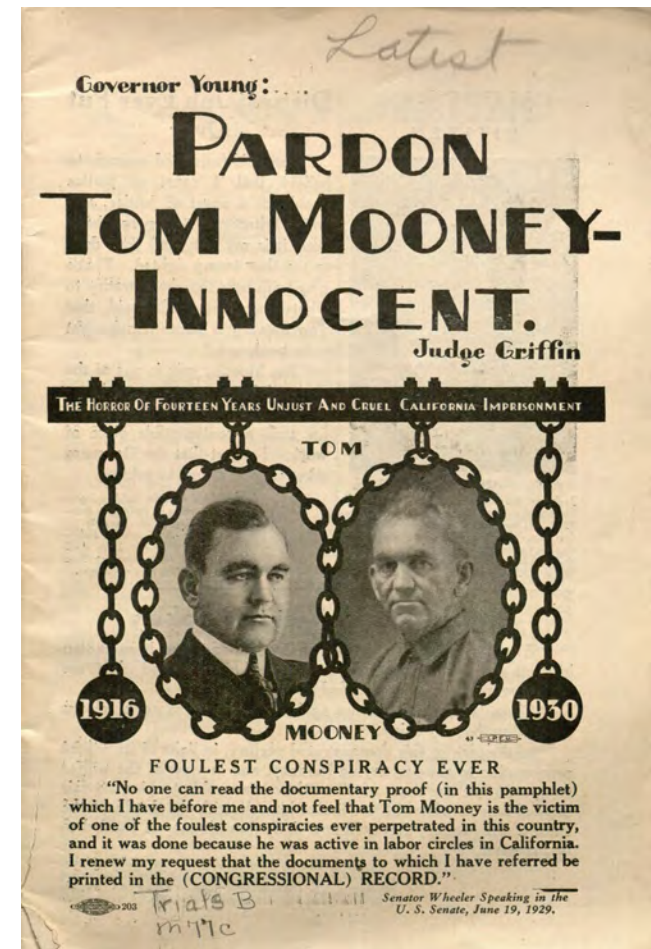
Published by the
TOM MOONEY MOLDERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
P. O. Box 894 San Francisco, Cal.

(Copyright applied for by Tom Mooney)



Pamphlets issued by the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, 1930s.


The Molders' Defense Committee, a left-wing clearing house formed in 1917 to raise defense funds and advocate for Mooney's release, produced a prodigious amount of propaganda over the course of Mooney's 22-year incarceration, expanding with every year that Mooney languished in prison. A favorite publicity trope, here exemplified in pamphlets released over a twenty-year period, was to offer "Before and After" images of Mooney, in which the chubby-cheeked labor leader has become, after years in prison, a grizzled and hollow old man. By the mid-Twenties, interest in Mooney's co-defendant Billings appears to have more or less disappeared.



TOM MOONEY
A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS UNION FOR 29 YEARS

**Betrayed
By
Labor
Leaders**

1916




TOM MOONEY
BEFORE "FRAMEUP"

"Tom Mooney is the victim of one of the foulest conspiracies ever perpetrated in this country, and it was done because he was active in labor circles in California."

—United States Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

1931



NUMBER 31,921
AFTER "FRAMEUP"

SECOND EDITION PRICE 10c MAY, 1931

200,000 COPIES IN CIRCULATION.

Handwritten: Trials B m77c

Pamphlets issued by the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, 1930s.

"... the foulest conspiracy ever"
"No one can read the proof which I have before me and not feel that Tom Mooney is the victim of one of the foulest conspiracies ever perpetrated in this country, and this was done because he was active in labor circles in California."
U. S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler

TOM MOONEY No. 31921



1916, before "Frameup"

Tom Mooney Frame-up in the Black Hole of Sunny California

A complete detailed story of the 18 year old frameup of two innocent Trade Unionists, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. Highly illustrated with documentary proof—132 pages, price 25 cents. Published by TOM MOONEY MOLDERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, P.O. BOX 1475-X, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.



1934, After "Frameup"

"A New Deal"
for everybody and everything—
but the same old

**ROTTEN DEAL
of
FRAMEUP**
in the Black Hole of Sunny
California for

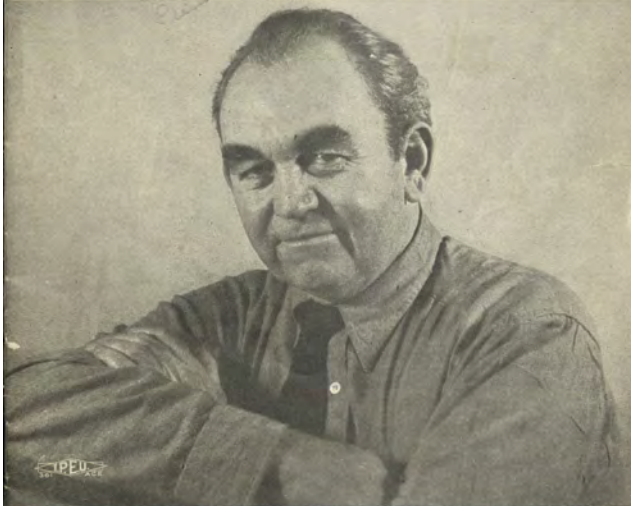
TOM MOONEY
"THE FORGOTTEN MAN"

Horror of 18 Years Cruel Unjust California Imprisonment

PASS ON TO A FRIEND

TOM MOONEY'S *Message*
To Organized Labor, His Friends and Supporters,
and All Liberal and Progressive Voters of California

On the 1938 CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS



TOM MOONEY
In San Francisco County Jail during Habeas Corpus Proceedings, July, 1936.

Handwritten: Trials B m77c

TOM MOONEY MOLDERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE
P. O. BOX 1475 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

PASS ON TO A FRIEND

OUR AMERICAN DREYFUS CASE

A Challenge to California Justice

BY
LILLIAN SYMES

HARPER & BROTHERS
Publishers

REPRINTED BY PERMISSION

.....

Together with
EXCERPTS FROM
SUBSTANTIATING DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE
OFFICIAL COMMISSION REPORTS
COURT DECISIONS --- LETTERS
OPINIONS OF WORLD AUTHORITIES

.....

Published For Special Circulation by the
Inter-Religious Committee
for
Justice for Thomas J. Mooney
Box 894, HOLLYWOOD STATION
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
1935

Lillian Symes. *Our American Dreyfus Case*. Los Angeles, 1935.

Mooney's appeal extended internationally. In this pamphlet, reprinted from an article in the popular American monthly *Harper's*, parallels are drawn with not only the Dreyfus Affair in France, but also with the rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany. Letters appealing for commutation or pardon came from overseas intellectuals as varied as George Bernard Shaw and Karl Liebknecht, and in a 1935 survey Mooney ranked as one of the four best known Americans in Europe (along with Franklin D. Roosevelt, Charles A. Lindbergh, and Henry Ford).

TOM MOONEY

(No. 31921)



WORDS BY
PEARL M. WRIGHT
MUSIC BY
SYLVESTER L. CROSS



Published by
PEARL M. WRIGHT
BOX 50, BEND, OREGON

Pearl M. Wright and Sylvester L. Cross. *Tom Mooney* (No. 31921). San Francisco, 1932.

The Mooney case entered popular culture through a variety of channels, including charity balls, traveling lectures, a documentary film, and even such sentimental parlor-room ballads as this, written in 1932 by an Oregon housewife.



BEFORE THE "FRAMEUP"

Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee

FORMED BY MEMBERS OF
INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS UNION NO. 164

TOM MOONEY—DIRECTOR

PRINTED ON UNION MADE PAPER

P. O. Box 1475
San Francisco



AFTER 15 YEARS IN PRISON

Dear Friend:

I am writing from an old stone cell shaped like a covered wagon, with a solid steel door double-barred and double-locked. It is cold — the cold eats into the marrow of my bones — the walls are damp — the light is poor — the ventilation is inadequate — a veritable tomb that has never known heat. The prison authorities are antagonistic, especially since I called upon California voters to defeat former Governor Young at the state primary. He was afraid to pardon me, and when I denounced his cowardice I was removed from work which I had earned by seniority and given a most irksome task. I would lose my few remaining privileges if the prison officials did not fear the protests of my loyal friends.

I have paid dearly for my efforts to improve the working and living conditions of the wage earners. But I have no regrets. For fifteen agonizing years I have fought an unyielding battle. I am not discouraged or disheartened. My convictions have not changed. I have never felt more determined or more unflinching. But to carry on the fight for better conditions in the world as well as my own fight for freedom I need your help.

Certain truckling "labor leaders" — more anxious to hold appointive political jobs than to aid the cause of the workers — recently disrupted my Defense Committee, tied up my funds and actually kept from me certain vital records. This was done after I had spent more than \$9,000 to bring about the hearing of Warren Billings before the California Supreme Court. Now I am approaching the presentation of my own application for pardon before the new Governor — James Rolph, Jr. — almost without funds.

The recent decision of the California Supreme Court — which denied me a pardon without allowing me to be heard in my own behalf — is a challenge to every lover of liberty and justice in the world. Originally I was convicted on perjured testimony. After fifteen years behind the bars for a crime which I did not commit, I was not allowed to expose those falsehoods. My only hope of ever gaining freedom is to get the truth about my shameful frame-up before the voters of California. This takes time — it also requires money.

I am now preparing another pamphlet which will expose the whole amazing inside story of the corrupt conspiracy which railroaded me to jail. I want it to get world-wide distribution. But I cannot do this unless my friends help me.

I implore you not to forget what I have endured these past fifteen years. Use your imagination. Try to picture what it means for an innocent man to be buried in prison for fifteen years. And to a man behind bars every week seems like a month — every month a year.

Please don't lay aside this personal appeal and forget me. Won't you mail a substantial contribution to my Defense Committee? Money is needed desperately — and needed now. Without your aid I am not only helpless but hopeless.

With deepest appreciation of your continued interest, I remain

Always sincerely,

Tom Mooney

31921

P. S. — Please make checks payable to
Tom Mooney Molder's Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475-X, San Francisco, California.

THIS COMMITTEE IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION AUTHORIZED TO COLLECT FUNDS FOR THE
DEFENSE OF TOM MOONEY

Fundraising letter, signed in facsimile by Mooney on illustrated Molders' Defense Committee letter-head. San Francisco, 1931.

Mooney proved himself a gifted propagandist of word as well as of deed, and it has even been suggested that he secretly worked to extend the process of his pardon in order to draw greater attention to his case and to the radical cause. In this fundraising appeal, Mooney pleads for sufficient funds to publish a pamphlet that promises "...to expose the whole amazing inside story of the corrupt conspiracy which railroaded me to jail."



Block of fundraising stamps, known in stamp collecting as "cinderellas," date unknown.

Handbill, *Mother Mooney in Life and Death*. [San Francisco?, 1934].

Probably the single most active campaigner for Tom Mooney's release was his mother, Mary Heffernan Mooney, who in addition to frequent meetings and rallies in the United States traveled throughout Europe and the Soviet Union pleading her son's cause. This handbill, issued upon her death in 1934, was clearly intended to exploit Depression-era America's infatuation with "mother and apple pie" for propagandistic purposes.



A TRAGIC HUMAN DOCUMENT NOW COMES TO THE SCREEN

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney" Is Graphic Camera Recordings of Significant Events in Headline Case

(General Advice)

A TRAGICALLY interesting human film document is announced for showing at the theatre on . . . This is "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney," a Bryan Foy Production released by First Division Exchanges.

Presenting is a running pictorial account, taken from actual camera recordings taken from news reels and photographs, "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney" reveals in graphic sequence the significant episodes and personalities of this crime of a century which has been a headline feature in the press for seventeen years.

As a prelude to the picture itself, Theodore Dreiser, famous novelist, makes an eloquent appeal that justice, long delayed, be done on behalf of Mooney. Dreiser relates how he campaigned for Mooney after having talked with him and become convinced of the injustice done him. The novelist recounts that up to seven years ago "without really thinking much about it, I assumed he was guilty, or that at least he was connected in some way with the crime." How he changed his views after close investigation, makes an interesting and significant introduction.

Beginning with the Preparatory Day Parade in San Francisco, July 22, 1916, news reels show the murders in a colorful sequence, just before the explosion. Then actual scenes of the tragedy, in which six were killed and forty injured. The camera record scenes carrying away the dead and wounded.

Outstanding personalities of the trial of Mooney, pictured in the reel, include Marcus Swanson, the detective for the public utility corporation of San Francisco, who did most of the work that led to the conviction of Mooney and Billings; Warren K. Billings, co-worker of Mooney, the first person arrested in connection with the crime; Ed Nolan, friend of Mooney who was arrested in connection with the explosion and held in jail nine months; Bert Cochran, Mooney's chief counsel; District Attorney Edward Cullen and Prosecutor James Buchanan; Essie Smith, Mrs. Millie Edgars, John McDonald and Frank O'Connell, all of whose testimony was proved false.

Actual photographs of Tom Mooney and his wife and friends on the roof of the life building, taken on the trial day at the very time the explosion occurred a mile and a quarter away, are significant in establishing an alibi for Mooney.

Mooney himself, as he is today, speaks from the San Francisco city jail, where he was transferred from the San Quentin Prison for the second trial which failed to affect his case.

Tom Mooney's Trial 1917



Bill-board in Hollywood



2 of 8 Stills Available at your Exchange



2 Col. Ad Cut or Mat No. 3

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney" Is Realistic Film Recording Of Tragedy That Has Stirred World

(Advance)

FOR seventeen years the legal battle over the guilt of Tom Mooney has been raging. The bomb outrage in San Francisco, July 22, 1916, which killed ten people and wounded forty others, resulting in the conviction of Mooney and his co-worker, Billings, still captures the headlines.

The defense has consistently and emphatically charged that Mooney, framed by the traction interests whose employees he had been assisting. Several persons who testified at the first trial were subsequently proved to have given prejudicial evidence, and at least one of the State's witnesses was discredited as to character.

In view of the extraordinary aspects of this case, the coming of a film entitled "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney" to the . . . theatre, is looked forward to with more than passing interest. The picture is an authentic, graphic and realistic camera account of the significant episodes of the case, beginning with the Preparatory Day Parade in which the explosion occurred, and ending with a plea by Mooney himself for vindication.

Theodore Dreiser appears in the introduction and explains how and why he became interested in Mooney.

Tom Mooney still is just a number in San Quentin Prison, California, but it is significant that many of his volunteer champions are moving into the New Deal administration.

President Roosevelt himself is interested in the Mooney-Billings pardon campaign. Henry T. Hunt, reform mayor of Cincinnati, who is now attorney for the Public Works Administration under Secretary of the Interior Ickes, is Chairman of the National Mooney-Billings Committee and author of a 400-word abstract and analysis of the case, printed in 1929. Hunt was in the Intelligence Service during the war and there learned that the Mooney injustice was disaffecting the Russian Army. His biographer Woodrow Wilson intervened, with the result that the President appealed to Governor Hughes of California urging a pardon.

Also, signing the Wilson report of January 14, 1914, on the Mooney-Billings case were two men now influential in administration circles; Felix Frankfurter, of Harvard, credited with having much to do with the New Deal legislation, and Max Lowenthal, now associated with Attorney General Cummings in the investigation of federal receivership scandals.

Order Special Trailer On This Picture From:



NEW YORK DALLAS
519 North Avenue 3055 S. Harvard St.
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1301 So. Wabash Ave. 1922 So. Vermont Ave.
ATLANTA SEATTLE
161 Wabash St. N.W. 2418 Second Ave.

The Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee has promised to cooperate with all exhibitors showing "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney."

When you have booked the picture communicate with

The Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee
1084 Howard St.,
or
P. O. Box 1475
San Francisco, Cal.

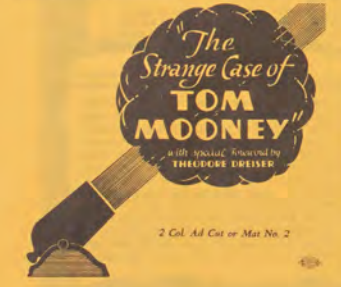
TIE IN WITH THE BOOK

The Mooney-Billings Report, suppressed in the Wickersham Commission, is published by Gotham House, Inc., 46 Fifth Ave., New York City, who will gladly cooperate with exhibitors showing the picture.
Write direct to Gotham House, Inc., attention of Robert A. Foster, advising date of your showing and they will instruct dealer in your community handling the book to give you window displays. This book was compiled by these prominent lawyers - Zerkowitch, Chasler, Jr., Walter H. Polak and Carl S. Stern.

THIS PICTURE IS NOW PLAYING THE LEADING CIRCUITS IN AMERICA!



TOM MOONEY
LABOR'S CHAMPION - A PRISONER - FOR 18 YEARS
2 Col. Scene Cut or Mat No. 6



Promotional poster for Bryan Foy's documentary *The Strange Case of Tom Mooney* (1933).

Foy's documentary on the Mooney case featured a written foreword by Theodore Dreiser and incorporated avant-garde techniques learned from Soviet cinema, including a lip-synchronized soundtrack of Mooney's own voice — an innovative technique in early-1930s filmmaking.

SUNDAY NEWS, JULY 25, 1933

'Strange Case of Mooney'

On Cameo's Doubleheader

By KATE CAMERON.

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney" is a double-header this week, although that doesn't mean that the little old St. Theatre has changed its policy from one to two feature pictures a week. The double feature program this week is an exception.

Along with the regular picture, the Cameo presents "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney," a picture which is a wonder mystery story and presented at the Cameo Theatre.

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Along with the regular picture, the Cameo presents "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney," a picture which is a wonder mystery story and presented at the Cameo Theatre.

Tom Mooney as he appeared just before his first trial. The picture is rather crudely made, but it is a picture which is a wonder mystery story and presented at the Cameo Theatre.

MOTION PICTURE DAILY

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney"

(First Division)

Obviously proud to create sympathy for Tom Mooney, its most effective dramatic moment comes toward the close when Mooney, speaking in a doorway of the county jail at San Francisco, passes as he chokes back a sob. As he ends his protestation of innocence, he says he will meet the jury again under more auspicious circumstances, his voice breaks, and the audience of his jaw tighten in a final effort to make his emotions.

It is not acting on Mooney's part, but Hollywood actors could study the scene with profit to themselves, if they want to learn how to achieve a fine, emotional effect.

Many still pictures have been injected into "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney," and there are shots of the Preparados Day parade 17 years ago when persons were killed by a bomb. Even the killed and maimed are shown. A foreword by Theodore Dreiser and a running narrative tell the story from the point of view of a theatre patron who has paid for extra-entertainment. Cut to a short with only the scene where Mooney talks, its drawing power would be strong, beyond argument.

The possibility exists, on the other hand, that the widespread interest in the Mooney case, particularly in labor circles and in densely populated centers, may lend a real draw to the picture. This is difficult to forecast.

THE Film DAILY

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney"

30 mins.

First Division

This is a history of the famous case of Tom Mooney, who was convicted of killing the bomb that exploded in California. It is a picture which is a wonder mystery story and presented at the Cameo Theatre.

THE NEW YORK EVENING POST, TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1933

The New Film: "The Strange Case of Tom Mooney"

By Thornton Delahanty

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney" is shown on the screen.

THE motion picture takes its place in the realm of special pictures with a documented record of the Mooney case. It is a picture which is a wonder mystery story and presented at the Cameo Theatre.

SEVENTEEN YEARS AFTER

THE STRANGE CASE OF TOM MOONEY

THE picture is a history of the famous case of Tom Mooney, who was convicted of killing the bomb that exploded in California. It is a picture which is a wonder mystery story and presented at the Cameo Theatre.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

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NEW YORK AMERICAN, TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1933

Double-Header at Cameo

By REGINA CREWE.

Motion Picture Editor N. Y. American.

"THE STRANGE CASE OF TOM MOONEY," a First Division Picture, presented at the Cameo Theatre.

THE NEW YORKER

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney"

By REGINA CREWE.

Motion Picture Editor N. Y. American.

THE NEW YORKER

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THE NEW YORKER

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney"

By REGINA CREWE.

Motion Picture Editor N. Y. American.

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM, TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1933.

The Directing Genius

By S. H. BURRO.

Mooney in Washington.

TOM MOONEY IS NOT just a number in San Quentin Prison, in California, but many of his volunteer champions are moving into the New Deal administration.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

"The Strange Case of Tom Mooney"

By S. H. BURRO.

Mooney in Washington.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

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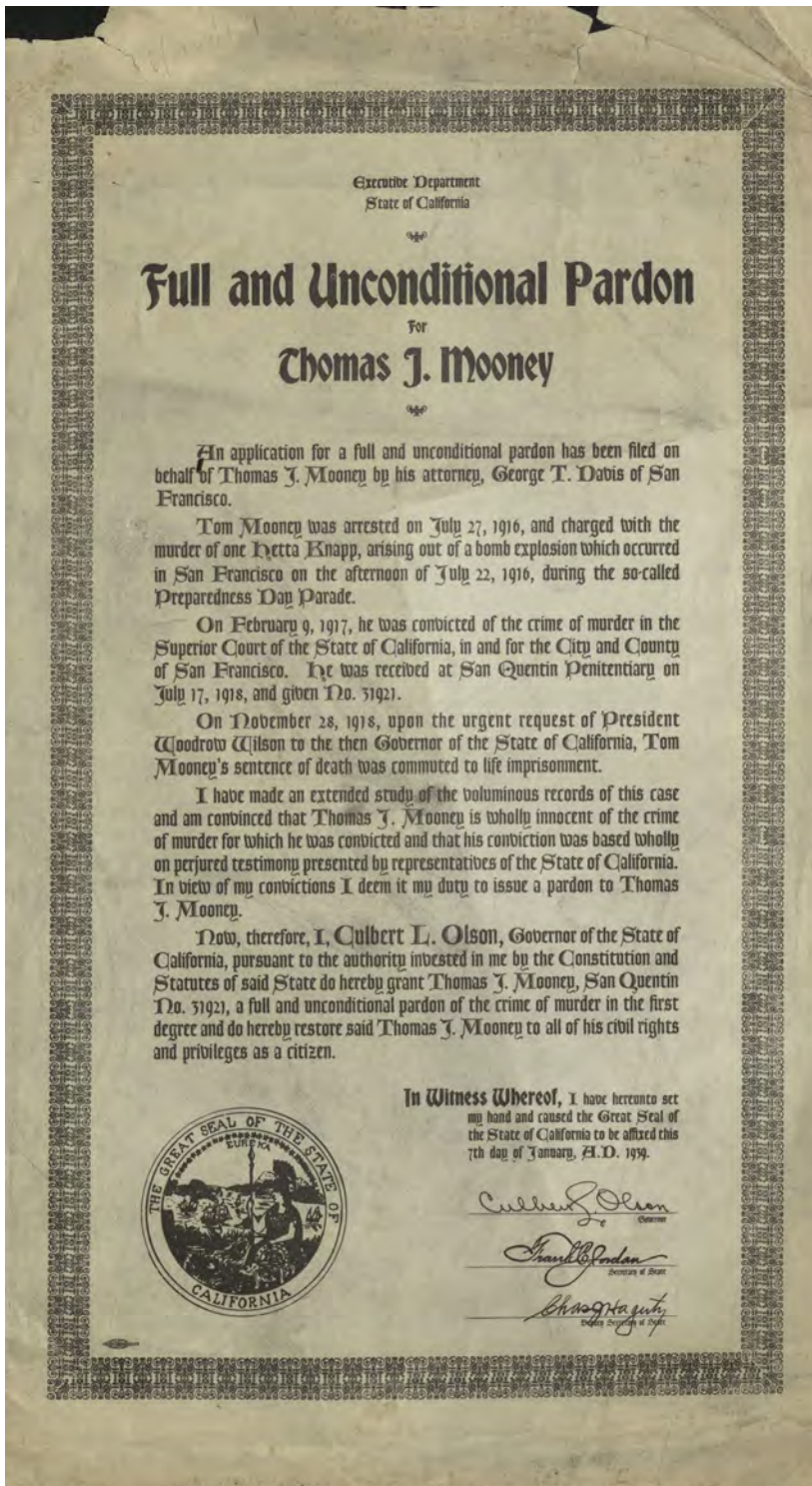
HARRY H. THOMAS, President

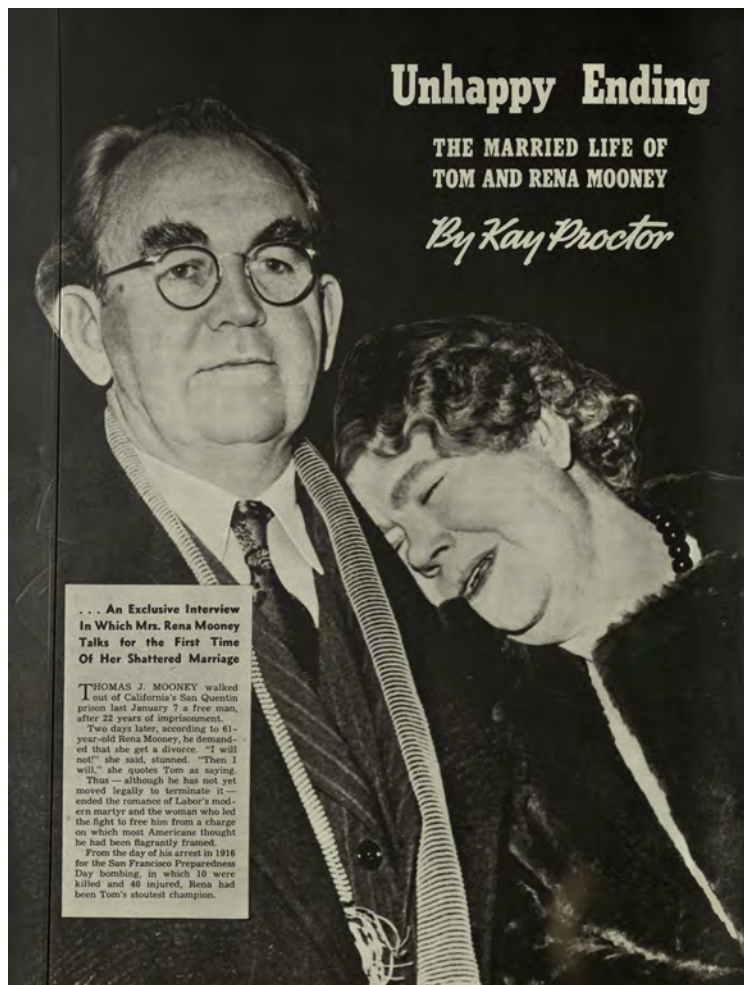
Executive Offices

Culbert J. Olson (Governor of California). Full and Unconditional Pardon for Thomas J. Mooney. [Sacramento], 1939.

Mooney finally received a full pardon, from California Governor Culbert Olson, on January 7, 1939. In granting the pardon, Olson cited the perjured testimony of Frank Oxman, the prosecution's star witness 22 years earlier. Mooney quickly hit the publicity trail, working hard to gain freedom for his co-defendant Warren Billings (who would be released later in 1939). But years of incarceration had left Mooney severely debilitated; he was unable to complete his first lecture tour and spent the last two years before his death in hospitals, largely forgotten now that his case was no longer a *cause célèbre*.

Admission ticket from Tom Mooney's post-release lecture tour, 1939.





Kay Proctor. "Unhappy Ending: The Married Life of Tom and Rena Mooney." In *Look* (Aug. 1, 1939).

Another casualty of Mooney's long imprisonment, beside his health, was his marriage to Rena Mooney, who had been acquitted in the 1917 murder trial. Rena Mooney had worked long and hard to win a pardon for her husband. Soon after his release, Tom asked Rena for a divorce. The public saw his request as a betrayal. In the *Look* article, the San Quentin warden said "Rena Mooney has broken the all-time record for a faithful wife." Rena declared, "He'll never have to divorce me. I'll jump off a bridge." As it turned out, she outlived him by ten years.

